

Message Text

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SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S SPEECH TO AMERICAN CLUB

1. BELOW IS THE TEXT, AS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY, OF AMBASSADOR'S ADDRESS SEPTEMBER 23 BEFORE AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CLUB. KEY ANNOUNCEMENTS, AS DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, WERE OF COURSE CLEARED IN ADVANCE WITH WHITE HOUSE AND DEPARTMENT. TRANSCRIPT OF ADDRESS AS DELIVERED, AS WELL AS OF EXTENSIVE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, BEING PREPARED. THE SPEECH, INCIDENTALLY, WAS WIDELY REPORTED IN THE LOCAL PRESS.

2. MISSION URGES THAT PA ISSUE TEXT OF SPEECH AS PUBLIC AFFAIRS DOCUMENT AND THAT IT ALSO BE CONSIDERED FOR INCLUSION IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN.

3. MISSION BELIEVES SUCH TREATMENT IS WARRANTED IN VIEW OF THREE MAJOR ELEMENTS IN SPEECH. 1) ANNOUNCEMENT THAT PRESIDENT WOULD SIGN THE TWO U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENANTS, THUS GIVING CONCRETE EXPRESSION TO ADMINISTRATION'S COMMIT-
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MENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS. 2) ANNOUNCEMENT OF \$6 MILLION U.S. CONTRIBUTION FOR AID TO SOUTHERN AFRICAN REFUGEE STUDENTS IN BOTSWANA -- A TELLING ILLUSTRATION OF U.S. CONCERN ABOUT MAKING A CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO SOLUTION OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS; AND 3) A STATEMENT OF U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES OF THE U.N. LOCATED IN GENEVA

GENEVA - AND JIMMY CARTER

ON MAY 9TH OF THIS YEAR, JIMMY CARTER BECAME THE THIRD PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO VISIT GENEVA. MOST AMERICANS DO NOT KNOW THE CRUCIAL ROLE THAT GENEVA PLAYS IN THE TANGLED WEB OF MAN'S AFFAIRS. THEY ARE SURPRISED TO LEARN HOW MUCH OF THE SUBSTANTIVE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS IS DIRECTED FROM THIS CITY. IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL THERE FORE IN THE FORUM OF THE AMERICAN CLUB TO REFLECT TOGETHER ON HOW GENEVA SYMBOLIZES THE HOPES AND POSSIBILITIES OF OUR NEW PRESIDENT AND HIS ADMINISTRATION.

GENEVA IS PRE-EMINTLY THE CITY OF PEACE. THE BRAVE EXPERIMENT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FOUND ITS HOPE HERE. WHEN CONFLICT THREATENS AND PEACE IS THEIR GOAL, THE WORLD'S STATESMEN SEEK GENEVA AS THEIR MEETING PLACE. AND SO IT IS TODAY. THE FIRST OBJECTIVE OF PRESIDENT CARTER IS TO SEEK PEACE AND AVOID WAR AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD. THE CONTROL OF ARMAMENTS AND WEAPONS IS CRUCIAL TO THE POSSIBILITIES OF PEACE. THE SALT TALKS ARE BEING HELD IN GENEVA AND THEIR SUCCESS IS CRUCIAL TO THE PRESIDENT'S HOPES. THE CCD (CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT) CONTINUES DOING ITS HISTORICAL WORK. THE NEWSPAPERS ARE CARRYING DAILY STORIES ABOUT A GENEVA CONFERENCE ON PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IT IS THE HOPE OF ALL OF US THAT THE EXPLOSIVE PROBLEMS OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT CAN BE CONTAINED, AND

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GENEVA IS CLEARLY DESTINED TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN THAT EFFORT.

THIS CITY, AND SWITZERLAND ITS COUNTRY, ARE ALSO THE SYMBOLS OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS, WEALTH AND STABILITY. WHAT BETTER AN ENVIRONMENT TO HOUSE MTN AND GATT AND THEIR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WORLD'S TRADING SYSTEM* THE GATT HAS FACILITATED THE GROWING ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE WORLD'S TRADING NATIONS. IT PROVIDES A GUIDELINE FOR THEIR CONDUCT AND A MEANS TO ACHIEVE THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THEIR TRADE DISPUTES. THE TRADING NEEDS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ARE FINDING NEEDED EMPHASIS IN GATT -- AS THEY MUST. THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATION IS THE WORLD FORUM FOR NEGOTIATING THE REDUCTION OF BARRIERS TO TRADE. THE PRESIDENT LOOKS TO THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS TO BE AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC STABILITY. AND IN THAT REGARD IT IS ENCOURAGING TO NOTE THE SUBSTANTIAL DEGREE OF ACCORD REACHED YESTERDAY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION ON A BASIS FOR SIGNIFICANT TARIFF REDUCTIONS IN THAT NEGOTIATION. AND SO, DAY AFTER DAY, DAWN AFTER DAWN, THE DISCUSSIONS GO ON -- IN MTN, IN GATT, AND IN UNCTAD WHERE THE PRINCIPAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE

NATIONS OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH IS GOING ON, WHERE THE CONCEPT OF A SYSTEM OF GENERALIZED TARIFF PREFERENCES TO ASSIST DEVELOPING NATIONS WAS FORMULATED, WHERE THE EFFORT FOR AN INTEGRATED COMMODITY PROGRAM -- A CRUCIAL CONCERN FOR THE DEVELOPING NATIONS WHOSE COMMODITIES REPRESENT 80 PERCENT OF THEIR EXPORTS -- IS NOW BEING SPEARHEADED.

PROBABLY NO ONE HAD A MORE SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND RELIGIOUS THINKING OF AMERICAN'S FOUNDING FATHERS THAT DID JOHN CALVIN. GENEVA IS THE CITY MOST CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH HIM, WITH THE REFORMATION, AND WITH THE CONCEPT OF SCNCTUARY FOR THOSE WHO ARE OPPRESSED. IT IS THE CITY OF HENRI DUNANT, OF THE FOUNDING OF THE RED CROSS, OF COUNTLESS HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS TO SAVE PEOPLE FROM THE UNCLASSIFIED

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DESTRUCTIVE POWERS OF NATURE AND MAN. IT IS APPROPRIATE, THEREFORE, THAT THE WORLD'S EFFORTS TO HELP REFUGEES ARE CENTERED IN GENEVA. THE WORLD, AND WE AMERICANS IN PARTICULAR, OWE A PROFOUND DEBT OF GRATITUTDE TO SADRUDDIN AGA KHAN, THE U.N. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES, WHOSE TIRELESS EFFORTS AND CREATIVE ENERGY HAVE MADE HIM A CRUCIAL PART OF THE WORLD'S CONSCIENCE. WITHOUT HIS OFFICE, WITHOUT ICEM, WITHOUT THE VOLUNTARY AGENCIES, THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ABLE TO HELP THE VIETNAMESE, FOR EXAMPLE, AS THEY JOINED THE SEEMINGLY ENDLESS ROAD OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE FLED TO FIND NEW LIVES. IN THE PAST YEAR ALONE, THE UNITED STATES HAS GIVEN MORE THAN \$55 MILLION TO THOSE AGENCIES IN GENEVA THAT SERVE HUMANITARIAN NEEDS. I AM PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE TODAY A GRANT BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEEES OF \$6 MILLION TO BE ADMINISTERED IN BOTSWANA FOR REFUGEE STUDENTS FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA, REMINDING US ONCE MORE THAT THE PROBLEMS OF REFUGEES ARE NOT RESTRICTED TO CERTAIN COUNTRIES OR CONTINENTS. AND WE ARE GRATEFUL THAT THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS HERE ARE SO EFFECTIVE IN THEIR EFFORTS.

IN THE SPIRIT OF GENEVA THAT REFLECTS CENTURIES OF STRUGGLE TO BE FREE AND TO PROTECT INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY THE PRESIDENT HAS SPOKEN OF A COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS,

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THEREBY CONTINUING A THREAD THAT IS CONSTANT IN AMERICAN HISTORY. WOODROW WILSON, A PRESIDENT WHOSE NAME IS PART OF THIS CITY, SPOKE OF OUR COMMITMENT TO

"THE THINGS WE HAVE ALWAYS CARRIED NEAREST OUR HEARTS-- DEMOCRACY, THE RIGHT OF THOSE WHO SUBMIT TO AUTHORITY TO HAVE A VOICE IN THEIR OWN GOVERNMENTS, THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF SMALL NATIONS, A UNIVERSAL DOMINION OF RIGHT BY SUCH A CONCERT OF FREE PEOPLES AS SHALL BRING PEACE AND SAFETY AND MAKE THE WORLD ITSELF FREE."

THE UNITED STATES IS BEING CRITICIZED FOR UNACCEPTABLE AND ILLEGAL INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES BECAUSE OF OUR EXPRESSION OF CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THAT CONCERN MAY BE UNACCEPTABLE TO THOSE WHO RULE WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED BUT IT IS NOT INTERFERENCE. THE UNITED STATES FOUGHT A STRUGGLE BECAUSE AMERICANS BELIEVED THAT PEOPLE HAD CERTAIN BASIC FREEDOMS THAT NO GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO VIOLATE OR SUPPRESS. THAT BELIEF IS ENSHRINED IN OUR CONSTITUTION AS THE BILL OF RIGHTS. THAT BELIEF IS ENSHRINED FOR THE PEOPLES OF THE
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WORLD IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS. NO GOVERNMENT, HAVING MADE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS THAT FILL THE DOCUMENT BOOKS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, SHOULD BE HEARD TO COMPLAIN WHEN IT IS CALLED UPON TO RESPOND TO LEGITIMATE ALLEGATIONS OF VIOLENCE, BRUTALITY, TORTURE AND SUPPRESSION THAT OFFEND THE CONSCIENCE OF MANKIND. THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT INTERFERE IN THE DOMESTIC CONCERNS OF OTHER COUNTRIES, BUT WE WILL CONTINUE TO PLACE ON THE INTERNATIONAL

AGENDA FOR ALL COUNTRIES, THE U.S. INCLUDED, THE OBLIGATION THAT GOVERNMENTS IN THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE VOLUNTARILY UNDERTAKEN TO PRESERVE, PROMOTE AND PROTECT THE HUMAN RIGHTS THAT ARE BASIC TO A DECENT CIVILIZATION.

PRESIDENT CARTER SAID AS RECENTLY AS THIS WEEK THAT THE BEST WAY FOR A NATION TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS TO ADVANCE IT AT HOME. IT IS WORTH REMEMBERING THAT ANDREW YOUNG, THE GUEST WHOM YOU HONORED WITH YOUR LARGEST AUDIENCE IN HISTORY LAST JULY AND WHO IS SERVING WITH COURAGE AND BRILLIANCE AS OUR PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS IN NEW YORK WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO EAT AT MANY LUNCH COUNTERS, OR SEND HIS CHILDREN TO SOME PUBLIC SCHOOLS, OR EVEN BE PERMITTED TO VOTE IN LARGE AREAS OF OUR OWN COUNTRY ONLY 15 YEARS AGO.

THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS IN OUR OWN COUNTRY IS FRESH IN OUR MEMORY AND THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES. HUMAN RIGHTS CANNOT BE THE ONLY GOAL OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY--"NOT IN A WORLD WHERE PEACE IS LITERALLY A MATTER OF SURVIVAL," AS PRESIDENT CARTER HAS SAID--BUT IT NOW IS AND MUST REMAIN A CONSTANT OBJECTIVE OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. WE WILL NOT BE SELF-RITHTEOUS ABOUT IT--WE HAVE TOO MANY FAILINGS OF OUR OWN. WE WILL NOT SEEK POLITICAL ADVANTEAGE FROM IT BECAUSE SUCH ADVANTAGE IS SHORT-LIVED AND SELF-DEFEATING.
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WE WILL DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE, HOWEVER, TO STRENGTHEN THE HUMAN RIGHTS WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS--AND THAT BRINGS US BACK TO GENEVA. IT IS HERE THAT THE U.N. COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS HAS ITS HEADQUARTERS. IT IS IN GENEVA THAT SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT NON-GOVERNMENTAL GROUPS HAVE CONCENTRATED THEIR EFFORTS. AND IT SHOULD BE HERE--AND I HOPE IT WILL BE--THAT THE WORK WILL BE DONE AND THE EVANTS CELEBRATED THAT WILL PROPERLY MARK THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH TAKES PLACE IN 1978.

THERE ARE PLENTY OF LOFTY PRONOUNCEMENTS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE LIBRARIES OF THE WORLD. WHAT IS LACKING IS THE MACHINERY TO GIVE BODY AND MUSCLE TO THOSE RIGHTS. I AM A LAWYER, TRAINED IN THE CONCEPTS OF DUE PROCESS AND TAUGHT THAT RIGHTS DO NOT BECOME MEANINGFUL UNTIL THERE IS A REMEDY FOR THEIR VIOLATION. IT IS PARTICULARLY DISCOURAGING THEREFORE TO WATCH AS A GREAT INSTITUTION SUCH AS THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE FALLS INTO DISUSE. THE WORLD NEEDS JUDICIAL TRIBUNALS, ADMINISTERED BY JUDGES WHOSE COMMITMENT IS TO THE LAW AND NOT TO NARROW NATIONAL INTERESTS --AND I WOULD HOPE IN THIS 30TH ANNIVERSARY YEAR THAT THE LEADING LAWYERS OF THE WORLD WOULD SEEK WAYS TO REVIVE THE CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONAL COURTS.

PRESIDENT CARTER HAS COMMITTED THE U.S. TO ENDORSE THE U.N. COVENANTS ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS, AND THE COVENANTS ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS. I AM PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL SIGN THEM DURING HIS OCTOBER APPEARANCE BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS. THOSE ARE SIGNIFICANT DOCUMENTS, PRIMARILY BECAUSE THEY ESTABLISH NEW MACHINERY SO THAT COMPLAINTS CAN BOTH BE HEARD AND ACTED UPON. AND PERHAPS THE LEAST WE CAN DO IN PREPARATION FOR 1978 IS TO AGREE THAT TORTURE SHOULD BE OUTLAWED AND THOSE WHO PERPETRATE IT SHOULD BE BRANDED AS THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINALS THEY ARE. I HOPE THAT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY NOW UNDERWAY IN NEW YORK WILL PROVIDE A FRAMEWORK SO THAT THE UNCLASSIFIED

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HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION CAN MAKE THE SUPPRESSION OF TORTURE A MAJOR TARGET IN THE FORTHCOMING ANNIVERSARY YEAR.

I HAVE TRIED TODAY TO TAKE THIS BEAUTIFUL CITY, GENEVA, AND CONNECT ITS INTERNATIONAL SYMBOLISM TO THE HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS OF PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. I KNOW IT BEFORE, BUT I HAD TO LEARN IT AGAIN, HOW VERY DIFFICULT IT IS TO BRING 150 NATIONS TO CONSTRUCTIVE CONCLUSIONS AND ACTION. THE HEART OF THE UNITED NATIONS IS IN THIS CITY AND IT MUST BE TREATED CAREFULLY SO THAT IT DOESN'T BREAK OR STOP BECAUSE ITS ARTERIES ARE CLOGGED WITH RHETORIC. WE MUST HOLD THE U.N AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE RESOURCES THAT ARE APPROPRIATED FOR THEIR USE. OUR CONGRESS HAS SERVED NOTICE, AND I SHARE ITS CONCERN, THAT IT WILL MONITOR CLOSELY BOTH THE ASSESSED AND VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES WHICH ARE ALREADY MEASURED IN THE HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS ANNUALLY. THERE MUST BE MORE PROGRAMMING FOR PEOPLE. I CANNOT BELIEVE THAT THE INCREDIBLE VOLUME OF PAPER THAT IS PRODUCED BY THE BUREAUCRACIES OF THE WORLD--INCLUDING THE U.N. AND THE U.S. --JUSTIFIES ITS COST. IF I HAVE ONE PRELIMINARY JUDGMENT TO OFFER, IT MIGHT BE JUST THAT--THE U.N. SHOULD SPEND MORE MONEY ON PEOPLE AND LESS ON PAPER. LEADERSHIP FOR THE GOALS OF A FREE SOCIETY HAS TO BE DISCIPLINED, PREPARED FOR AN ENDLESS STRUGGLE, AND TOUGH. LEADERSHIP IN THE UN MUST ALSO HAVE THOSE QUALITIES. THE WORLD MAY BE ADMINISTERED BY THE BUREAUCRACY BUT IT CANNOT BE LED BY IT.

THERE ARE MANY FORCES IN THE UNITED STATES AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WHICH ARE HOSTILE TO THE CONCEPTS OF AN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, WHO BELIEVE THAT THE ONLY ELEMENT THAT SHOULD COUNT IN THE WORLD'S EQUILIBRIUM IS POWER AND UNCLASSIFIED

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THE BALANCE THEREOF. WE HAVE A PRESIDENT WHO WILL SUSTAIN
AMERICA'S POWER BOTH MILITARILY AND CECONOMICALLY SO THAT
NONE CAN CHALLENGE IT. BUT HE WILL ALSO USE THE SECURITY OF
THAT POWER TO REACH OUT TO THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD AND,
WITH THEM, WORK TO BUILD A FRAMEWORK OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER
THAT WILL ADDRESS ITSELF TO THE BASIC NEEDS OF MANKIND. IN
THAT STRUGGLE, THE ALPHABET OF THE U.N. FROM WHO TO UNCTAD,
FROM WIPO TO ILO, FROM SALT TO SUGAR, WILL HELP PROVIDE THE
LANGUAGE THAT WILL PERMIT US TO COMMUNICATE, ONE WITH
ANOTHER. BY CONSENSUS AND NEGOTIATION, BY TALKING AND
LISTENING. BY A FEARLESS COMMITMENT TO THE FINEST OF THE
IDEALS THAT OUR NATIONS REQPRESENT, LET US SEEK A NEWER
WORLD--AND IN THE JOURNEY, WE WILL MAKE THE WORLD IN WHICH
WE LIVE A BETTER ONE. UNQUOTE

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